1: Wang--1 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 101 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from outside areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

101 [161] "There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or more families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104]

/* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes.— Ed./

[81] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 101 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period 175 /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[81] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

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*175 776 [346] no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in /14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih are not without basis.

*101 *175 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and meaning of [ko¹ ɕioŋ¹], a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the Hou Han Shu states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/ CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

131 [161] 173 ●167 *[101] Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

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1. Ting, Wen-chiang: "Man Yu San Chi" /Miscellaneous Notes on a Rambling Trip/," Tu Li P'ing Lun /Independent Review/, No. 8.

*[101] according to the Englishman, S.R. Clarke, who came to the conclusion after 20 years of investigation in Kweichow, the indigenous peoples of Kweichow are the Ch'i Lao not the Miao, the latter having immigrated from elsewhere. (2) As a result

[113]

2. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, p. 13.

of his study of Miao migration legends, the Frenchman, F.M. Savina, concluded that when the Miao first arrived in China they lived in Honan, whence they emigrated to Kweichow, next to Szechwan, Yunnan, Tonkin, and to Laos. (3) This

[113]

3. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao /Miao Stories/, p. 247.

corresponds roughly to the above-mentioned theory that the Mao tribe emigrated from Shansi to Honan, then to Szechwan, to Yüeh-hsi, and to Kweichow, except that Mr. Savina has the order of Szechwan and Kweichow reversed. This is more *[101] evidence that the present-day Miao are not the ancient San Miao, as the location of the ancient San Miao was between Tung-t'ing and Peng-li lakes, which are not mentioned in the Miao legends.

The trend of Miao migration since the time of recorded history has been as stated above. As to their moves in the

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173 167 prehistoric period, F.M. Savina states in his Histoires des Miao that the Miao must have been in the Arctic region on the basis of legends still prevalent among the Miao today. According to the legends, the Miao forefathers had lived in the opposite region of the earth, where the winter was very long and in a year there were six months of daylight and another six months of darkness, where the water was always frozen and the earth was covered with snow, where vegetation was small and sparse and human beings were short and small and wore skin and fur clothes. (4) Savina moreover advanced the hypothesis that the

4. Same as above, pp. 115-19.

Miao's place of origin was the area between the Pamir highland and the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. (5) Based upon the

5. Same as above.

above-stated references to Honan, the Artic, and the Iranian Plateau, /16/ Savina concluded that the Miao came from Mesopotamia, moved eastward until stopped by the Pamir highlands, and were diverted therefrom northeastward through Turkestan and along the western ranges of the Ural Mountains to the Polar region above 60 degrees north latitude, and then veered southeastward through Siberia, Mongolia, and Shensi, reaching Honan at last. (1) This theory, being based purely

1. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao, pp. 115-19.

upon oral legends of the Miao, is not based on sufficient evidence. If these legends came in from another tribe, then this theory is completely invalidated. At most we can only consider it a hypothesis.

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However, using language as a basis, Lowis maintains that the Karen are the predecessors of the Shan tribe (Pre-Shan). (3)

3. C.C. Lowis, The Tribes of Burma, p. 16.

The writers have used the 76 words of the Ch'i Lao language as recorded by S.R. Clarke to make a comparison with the languages of the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia, and have found a 40 per cent similarity between the Ch'i Lao and the Chung Chia languages.. However, the two tribes have lived together for a long time, mutually assimilating each other, so that we cannot assume on the basis of the partial similarity in languages that they are of the same origin. We know that although the list of names of the peoples of southwest China is long, they may be divided into four groups: the Miao-Yao, the Tibeto-Burman, the Thai-Shan, and the Mon-Khmer. The tribes in Kweichow cannot fall outside these four groups. The Miao belong to the Miao-Yao group, the Chung Chia to the Thai-Shan group, the Lolo to the Tibeto-Burman group. Whether the Ch'i Lao belong to the Miao-Yao or to the Thai-Shan group remains an unsettled question for lack of sufficient data. The Ch'i Lao were the earliest tribe to reside in Kweichow and might be called the natives. They covered a rather extensive area. The Kweichow T'ung Chih says: "There are many kinds of Ch'i Lao, found everywhere." But they have repeatedly been assimilated by other tribes in later times, and their population now is very small. The migration of the Miao tribes into Kweichow probably began before the Ch'in and Han periods. They came out of Szechwan and first arrived in the northeast of Kweichow, gradually moving southeastward. The Miao in Kweichow sometimes also call themselves the aborigines, but when the Ch'i Lao and the Miao are found together in the same locality, the latter are considered to be "guests" and the former the "hosts." The Lolo migrated to northwestern Kweichow

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M *101 C 563 from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution M *101 131 C 563 of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M ● 167 648 C 563 167 Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three subprefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

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M directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in
•167 modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and
[648] Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan
C and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the
563 west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and
167 along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again
through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin
in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in
the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The
M foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao,
*101 but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan,
C and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one
563 area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan,
the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the
last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress.
Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are like-
ly to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time
has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three
*101 sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in
[13] western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller
[167] in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao
CC Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the
563 three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao,
but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in
Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But
at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-
prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the
sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the
north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and
La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited
by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao,
M having many villages and people, are held in awe by the
[162] others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult
of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more
numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

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M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

M [131] [167] [301] [556] [527] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] [462] [782] [769] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

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*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.
[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.
[291] (9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[302] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[782] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[769] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.

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After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

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(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung, Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

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(12) He Chie Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers. Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

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(13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

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563 in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

[167] (14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[291] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[583] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[517] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[584] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
family/.

[167] (15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[782] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[574] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[291] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[302] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[167] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
M Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
[291] numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

/21 cont./
is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitiousness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

(18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I, Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation and requested a reduction. They then chu-pu /keeper of records/ of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establishment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men office," The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts, and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/ to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble, and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the Po chieftain.

(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fighting and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at Ting-niu and Yen-lo.

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(20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him. They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox, the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns, and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off the four legs of the ox and carry them home. The rest of the guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

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(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

Central China AF14
South China AF17
SW China AF16

/22 cont./

M *101 CC 563

In western Hunan, besides the Miao of the three sub-prefectures there are Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning, and Ch'eng-pu hsiens. There are Yao in Hsü-p'u, Ch'ien-yang, Wu-kang, Tao-hsien, and Yung-ming hsiens. There are T'u Jen in Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Ku-chang, and Lung-shan hsiens, /23/ and Ch'i Lao in Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng hsiens. In recent times the non-Chinese people in west Hunan have been regarded as Miao, but actually only the Hung Miao in the three sub-prefecture and the Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien and T'ung-tao hsiens are pure Miao. Others like the Yao in such hsiens as Hsü-p'u and Ch'ien-yang are different from the Miao; the Ch'i Lao at Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng are the same people as the Ch'i Lao of Kweichow. The language of the Tu Jen of such hsiens as Yung-shun and Pao-ching belongs to the Thai-Shan language group with Tibeto-Burman influence. They may be remnants of the Liao people of ancient times. (1) All of them are not Miao.

M [113]

1. Terrien de Lacouperie: The Languages of China before the Chinese, p. 149.

M *101 SoC 563

Kwangsi. — The Miao in Kwangsi are generally distributed over the areas bordering Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces, in the following 16 hsiens: Ling-yün, Pe-se, Tung-lan, Szu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Szu-en, I-pe, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lin, and Chen-pien. The Miao in Kwangsi for the most part are recent immigrants, and those on the Kwangsi and Yunnan border are still more recent. They are called by many names but broadly belong to the Pe Miao, Hua Miao, and He Miao.

M [167]

M *101 SwC 563

Szechwan. — The Miao are also found along the Szechwan-Kweichow border. There are many Hung Miao in the south-eastern corner of Szechwan and also in an area between Szechwan, Hunan, and Kweichow, including such hsiens as Yu-yang and

SW China AF16
Indochina AM1

/23 cont./

M *101 SWC 563 Hsiu-shan. There are Pe Miao and Hua Miao in Kao-hsien, Kung-hsien, Hsing-wen, Ch'ang-ning, and Yün-lien in southern Szechwan. The number of Pe Miao is larger than that of the Hua Miao, and therefore this area is known as the Pe Miao area. Traces of the Miao are also found along the two banks of the Ya-lung-chiang River in the vicinity of Mien-ning-hsien.

Yunnan. — The area of distribution of the Miao in Yunnan is very extensive, because Yunnan is a larger province than Kweichow and its soil is more fertile. Although up to the M [167] present the number of Miao in Yunnan is not very large, their immigration into the province is continuing. Many Pe Miao and Hua Miao are found in northeastern Yunnan in such hsiens as Wei-hsin, Chen-yung, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Ta-kuan, I-liang, and Yung-shan. They are similar to the Miao in southern Szechwan in language and customs, although located in a different province. The Hua Miao entered Yunnan from M [167] western Kweichow, and their distribution is widespread, from Ch'ü-ching in the east through Sung-ming, Fu-min, Wu-ting, and Yen-hsing to Yang-pi, Yung-p'ing, Meng-hua, etc. hsiens; then across the Lan-tsang River from Meng-hua to Shun-ning, and westward to the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. Today, the British area of Ma-li-pa at Kuo-kan-hsien also have Miao villages. The Pe Miao and Hua Miao are scattered in such hsiens as Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Ch'iu-pe, A-mi, Hsi-ch'ou, Ma-kuan, /24/ Wen-shan, Meng-tzu, P'ing-pien, Chin-ho, etc. in the southeastern part of Yunnan.

M *101 I 563 M [167] Indo-China. — Having migrated from Kweichow to Yunnan the Miao continued to move southward to the northern part of Tonkin, Indochina, to such regions as Kao-p'ing, Hai-chiang, and Lao-chieh in the area adjacent to Yunnan, reaching the border of T'ai-yüan province in the south, which is w... where they end. Further south is the plain of Tonkin, without hilly country to which to move and with a climate which does not suit the Miao people. The Miao in Tonkin are principally Pe Miao, but Ch'ing Miao and Hua Miao are also to be found.

(1) 1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

M /24 cont./
*101
113

1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

M *101 B 563

Burma. — Having stopped at the Tonkin plains, the migratory trend of the Miao turned westward through Lao-chua /Laos/ (2) to such places as Meng-hsin and Ching-tung in the territory

M [167] [113]

2. G. Ayme: Monographie du Ve Territoire Militaire /Monograph on the Ve Military Territory/, pp. 59-60.

under the Nan-shan headmen in Burma, but also stopped on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. (3) But their number is not

M [113]

3. J. Jeorge Scott: Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Part I, Vol. 1, pp. 296-299.

large, and only a few villages are inhabited largely by Pe Miao. (4)

M [43]

4. C.C. Lowis: The Tribes of Burma, p. 40.

M *101 131

The foregoing is a general survey of the present geographical distribution of the Miao. It reveals two obvious characteristics: 1) the regional distribution is very widespread, and 2) the vertical distribution is very high.

Regional distribution. — What is called regional may also be called plane distribution that is to say; a people's area and directions of distribution, and an explanation of the reasons for this. (5) The present extent of Miao distribution on four

2:Ling & Ruey--45 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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131
[113]

/24 cont./

5. Ling Shun-sheng: Yunnan Min Tsu te Ti Li Fen Pu /The Geographical Distribution of the Peoples of Yunnan/, pp. 11-14.

sides is as follows: in the east it reaches west of Kwei-chiang River; in the west it stops on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River; in the north it ends at the north bank of the Ya-lung-chiang River at the territory under the Mu-li headman; in the south it reaches the hilly country above the confluence of the Hung-ho and Li-sien-chiang rivers. This area is the most extensive occupied by any one of the peoples of the southwest. *101 131 ●167 The migration of the Miao in recent times, due to the repeated disturbances in Kweichow, has reached eastward only to the west of the Yüan-chiang River, and northward to the south bank of the Yangtze River. Since further on in their two directions the terrain becomes less hilly and is more densely populated, there is no land for the Miao to move into. Even if there were land available, the damp, hot climate would be unsuitable for them to live in. The spread of the Miao southeastward was along the Nan Ling mountains /25/ and stopped west of the Kwei-chiang River. Their movement westward met no obstacles because Yunnan, Tonkin, and Laos are all spacious and thinly populated, and now they have reached the east bank of the Nu-chiang. The emigration of the Miao is the latest among the movements of the peoples of the southwest. Yunnan and Indochina, although spacious and thinly populated as stated, have their arable areas in the mountains already occupied by the Lolo and other hill people. When the Miao arrived last they could not find extensive hilly country for living together as a tribe, and were forced to scatter, each to find his own way. Furthermore, being refugees from political turmoil, they lacked organization and definite destinations. In general, depending on hilly areas where they could settle down, they moved farther and farther, and thus their area became increasingly extensive.

/25 cont./

*101 131 133 167 361 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China, for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various directions are greatly limited by their past geographical environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the [illegible] mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131 133 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, according to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d. - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p48e - "]

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
148 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
[161] limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[167] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated, with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore, whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7 on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely without reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land, and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. — Due to the lack of meteorological records the
[114] climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The authors kept such records along the way during their travels, but they are the data of only a short period and do not represent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two points within a short distance could be quite different. For instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade, but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13 at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270 kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region. On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparently on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals cannot see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

lk Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

121 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we
114 would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan
161 Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political
• 167 control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not
175 autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. B. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[P. 66a]

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17 Miao AE5

Records lists the capitals of the Nan Man or Southern Man in the Chou period. Many of them were in the area between the lower and central Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers, and in the drainage of the Ssu and Huai.[27] After all, it was this sort of existence of the different cultural groups side by side that resulted in intermixtures of cultures and the development of different tribes as described by Eberhard.

Actually, Ling Shun-sheng would have us believe that the Man of the Miao cultural group forced out the earlier inhabitants of the area south of the Yang-tzu between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. These earlier inhabitants presumably were a T'ai related group known as the Chiu-li tribe, who up to this time had been the most powerful of the tribes south of the Yang-tzu.[28] In any case, this indicates that the Ch'u Kingdom comprised different ethnic elements. As to whether the political entity could be viewed as overwhelmingly and dominantly T'ai, as Eickstedt would have us believe,[29] is something that needs further support to be convincing unless the Yueh be equated with the T'ai. Eberhard showed the Yueh to be found in all the Lower Yang-tzu Valley region as well as in the southeast during ancient times. We shall look more closely into this question in the subsequent pages.

7. The History and Migrations of the Miao and their Relation to the Ch'u State

The Miao legends trace the origin of the Miao, in the interpretation of Savina,[30] from the Pamir area of Central Asia during prehistoric times. These legends state that in the early habitat of the Miao, the winters were long and the year was divided into two parts, each of six months. One was called "white or daylight landscape," the other "black night." The water often froze into ice, while snow covered the earth. Trees and shrubs were stunted and scarce. The people were of short stature and wore furs and skins for clothing. Savina believed that the Miao traveled east and northeastward from the Pamirs through Turkestan and the Tanu Ola Mountains across Siberia and then proceeded south through Mongolia and Shen-hsi to Ho-nan. From Ho-nan, according to these legends, they migrated to Kuei-chou, thence to Ssu-ch'uan, and from there to Yun-nan and Tongking-Laos. Of course, said Ling and Jui,[31] this is hypothetical deduction, and there are no substantial historical evidences available to sup-

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Miao AE5

port it, although, in general, this corresponds to the trend of the route of Miao migration traced by Ling and Jui. This would also refute the contention that the present Miao are descendants of the early San-Miao whose territory was in the north Hu-nan area.

We thus come up against the problem of the connection between the so-called San-Miao and the modern Miao. Some Chinese writers have contended that the Miao of today are the descendants of the ancient San-Miao, and moreover, according to Chu Hsi-tsu, "make the absurd claim that the Miao preceded the Han-Chinese in China".[32] Hirth, however, accepted the fact of the descent of the modern Miao from the San-Miao. He wrote:

According to one of the commentaries, the Glutton, or T'au-t'ie, was identical with a personage or tribe (for it appears to be an ethnic name) called San-miau, whom the emperor banished from his dominions and who originally occupied the regions about Mt. Hong-shan and the shores of T'ung-t'ing Lake in the present Hu-nan province. From these ancient seats the emperor is said to have banished them to a place called San-wei, which Chinese commentators have identified with a locality now known as San-wei-shen in the neighborhood of Tun-huang-hien in northwestern Kan-su. The San-miau are considered the forefathers of the Tangutans, or K'iang, the southern neighbors of the Yue-chi, or Indo-Scythians, before their great migration westward in the second century B.C. and of the Miau-tzi tribes. If Klaproth's derivation, based on Chinese notices, of the origin of the Tibetan race from these K'iang tribes holds good (Cf. S. W. Bushell, The Early History of Tibet, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 439), the legend of the banishment by the Emperor Shun of the San-miau, their ancestors, may be looked upon as a symbolic allusion to the shifting of their aboriginal seats. It would appear from this tradition that Tangutans, Tibetans, and Miau-tzi originally occupied the north of Hu-nan province and were thence driven westward, owing to the rapid growth of the Chinese race.

Less cautious than Hirth, Eickstedt[34] had no hesitation in saying that it is clear from the evidence that the Miao are derived from the San-Miao, who according to

Miao AE5 Mi
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Hopitable people, the Meo of Thanh Hoa have remained timid and extremely superstitious. They can neither read nor write, they stammer out the Thai language for their commercial transactions, and only their leader knows Annamese at all well. They all fled frightened into the rẫy when I wanted to photograph them before the door of their house. They used to live on the calcareous Mộc plateau which stretches out of the frontier chain of North Thanh Hoá beyond the Mai Châu gorge in the province of So'n La. Their leader told me that he was bom at Chiềng Ly (?), three days' march from the market of Su Yut (2). They Mi 167

2. On the Black River.

did not enter the province all at once, but by groups between 1900 and 1905. Some of the first-comers have already emigrated southwest into Hua Phan and the mountains surrounding M. Poun, Xiềng Mène and Sam Teu, and they will all probably end up by moving in this direction. Coming down Phú Nghi through M. Pung, I encountered several abandoned Mèo houses, entanglements of bamboo now invaded by brush, where a pipe still brought in a trickle of /236/ clear water, and where the decortication mill, too heavy for a distant exodus, still lay on the ground. Neither do the Mèo hesitate to leave their ancestors' tombs on these sheer slopes, little barricaded buttes on which they have placed tiny, derisory effigies -- bottles of brandy, bamboo pails and wooden spoons. The Mèo leader, who had only been settled three years in the house where he received me, already found that his rẫy were too far off and talked of leaving soon.

Indeed, there is nothing to induce the Mèo to settle permanently in these western cantons of Thanh Hoá. Any kind of irrigated crop is impossible on the narrow hills which taper off into sheer slopes, and even the lower edges of their rẫy strike those of the Thai coming up from the valleys. No doubt they appear as implacable destroyers of the forest, but it is the only way they can live (1).

1. Moreover, they are not responsible for the vast extents of thatch grass which, striped with black at the end of the dry season by the paths of fires, cover the sides of Phú Nghi. These patches are the result of a comparatively early deforestation which the Thai themselves impute to their ancestors.

86: Robequain--249 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese
Miao AE5

Mi
●167

Furthermore, they are found at the extreme limit of their habitat, and, as rarely happens among the Mèo of Indochina, even have to locate their houses as low as 800 meters' altitude (2). Pursuing their

2. In Indochina it is rare to find Mèo settled below an altitude of 900 meters.

course and jumping from crest to crest without a care for administrative borders, they are here only birds of passage, and Phú Nghi is only a step between their more compact and solid groupings of the Mộc and of Tran Ninh. But they put the finishing touches to the physiognomy of Thanh Hoá, which is already so varied, and also bring to mind, in our province, the powerful current of human migrations which is drawing the population of Indochina southwards along the mountain tops, through the valleys and in the coastal plains (3).

3. The Mèo, coming from Yunnan and Kouang Si and still numerous in these Chinese provinces, do not seem to have entered Tonkin before the end of the 18th century. Their immigration was sometimes peaceful and sometimes violent. For their distribution in northern Tonkin and French Indochina, cf. the map by Lunet de la Jonquière and the maps already cited, p. 97, note 2. There is a most interesting book by Father Savina, (114), the greatest expert on the Mèo of Indochina, who lived among them for more than 10 years. Geographers should consult Chapter III (The Mèo at home) in particular, for it is interwoven with picturesque details and real life scenes. But why did the author, instead of retracing a fabulous exodus from icy Siberia, not seek to reconstruct a few precise itineraries of the migrations of the Mèo from the south of China down to their southernmost Indochinese habitat, migrations which are relatively recent and still alive in the memories of these mountain-folk, who are the best geographers of the Oriental peoples, as Father Savina himself says (p. 176)?

The Mèo claim that they cannot live in the hot and unhealthy valleys, the home of leeches and buffalo, where one is buried in water and opium does not grow.

86: Robequain--250 K-5 (no date) 1929 AM1 Indochina
Vietnamese AM11
Miao AE5

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A Mèo proverb says: "Fish swim in water, birds fly in the air, and the Mèo live on the mountains." But Father Savina (pp. 174-175) suggests, and quite judiciously as it seems to us, that the determining cause of their habitat, and one which they do not admit, is that all the valleys are already occupied by other ethnic groups and they often could not settle there without becoming sharecroppers and, in a sense, slaves. Whatever the case may be, in their journeys from crest to crest the Mèo have already reached the latitude of Thakhek in the province of Cammon. They cannot continue their march southwards, for beyond the Ai Lao gorge rise the Moï plateaus, which are already occupied by comparatively dense Indonesian groupings. Settling them permanently appears to be an urgent matter. When they find it possible to establish irrigated rice fields away from other races, they lose their nomadic habits quite easily, and have already done so in Tonkin, for example, at Đồng Van, Pak Ha and Cha Pa.

Although their way of life is similar to that of the Man, the Mèo of /237/ Thanh Hoá remain much more isolated. Only rarely do the women go down towards the nearby Thai hamlets, and once or twice a year the men descend alone to the markets of Hồi Xuân, chiefly those of Chợ Bờ, for trade with the Annamese and Chinese. In fact, they have very few things to ask of the outside world.

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CHAPTER VII

INDUSTRY AND TRADE OF THE MOUNTAINFOLK

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There is no question of a Thanh Hoá mountain dweller's "going into business." We know him well enough to understand that he has no aptitude for vast enterprises or remote speculations. He is concerned simply with living in his traditional way. The social organization results in inequality of wealth, and the wealthy man's existence is doubtless less difficult, broader and more regular than that of the poor man, but it is not fundamentally different. Even the thổ ti, when he does not grow crops himself, remains a proprietor of rice fields and buffalo. For him as for his subjects, commerce is only an intermittent

155: Abadie--159 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

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[148]

CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

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CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

The name "Méo" is applied to the peoples of a very characteristic type which inhabit the highest regions of Upper Tonkin.

The Chinese call the "Meo" "Miao-tseu," while often including them in the general designation of "Man" (rude barbarians).

In their dialects the "Méo" designate themselves by the name of "Mung."

In Tonkin, the various "Méo" tribes form a total of about 40,000 individuals, of whom the densest groupings are located in the regions of Dongvan, of Pakha, and of Muongkhuong where they constitute the majority of the population.

Other relatively important settlements of "Méo" are also found towards Upper Laos.

Like the other groups previously studied, the "Méo" have their origin in the mountainous regions of the south of China, from which they have been pushed back little by little towards the south by the Chinese pressure and expansion. There still exist in Yunnan and in Kweichow very important groupings of "Méo" whose numbers it has been impossible to estimate, even approximately. These groupings appear to have conserved a certain independence in the high valleys and mountains which form their habitat but continue to undergo the migratory movement which is pushing them towards the south.

The groupings which have settled in Tonkin, while following the various mountainous ridges, have little by little spread themselves the length of the north and northwest frontiers as far as the great Annamite chain of mountains. This movement of [150] migration has most often taken a peaceful form, but several cases of violent invasion are reported, notably in the region of Dong-van at the beginning of the nineteenth century and towards 1860.

[150 cont.]

167 175 At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw [361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after 175 the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would 147 361 175 perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low altitudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the 101 region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

158: Diguet--127 G-3 (ca. 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
430 AE6
M160 AE5

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773 They know the legend of the flood which they end in a special manner: "The young sister married to her brother was sterile, and a spirit gave her eight beans so that by eating one bean each year she might have eight children. Overcome with happiness, she swallowed them all at once and was soon the mother of eight twins who were the founders of the eight Pa Teng families."

000 /128/ /A photograph entitled "Meo flutist" appears here. --Translator/

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CHAPTER VII

THE MEO ETHNIC GROUP

Section 1

The Meo--Their Name--Their Origin and Immigrations. --Their Favorite Habitat

M
101 The Meo are called by the Annamese by the name Man Meo (wild cat). The first of these words is the one under which they mingle all the mountaineers, and the second is applied especially to those who dwell on the highest peaks and have the reputation of climbing like cats. It seems preferable to designate this ethnic group simply by the second word and exclude the first. It will be better to reserve the latter for the Yao in order to avoid confusion between these very different groups. The Chinese call them Miao tse and they call themselves Mong.

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161 Their number may be estimated at 7 percent of the total popula-
131 tion of the high region of Tonkin. The most important settlements where they live are located: 1) on the Chinese frontier between Dongvan and Quanba, between Pakha and Muongkhuong; 2) on the right bank of the Red River, between Nghialo, Van Bu and Tu Le;
M and finally, 3) on the Black River, to the north of Van Yen.
175 They immigrated into Tonkin relatively recently. At first they
•167 migrated in two masses which invaded the Tonkinese mountains, throw-
131 ing everything into disorder during their passage, one mass at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the other about 1845, at the time of the Tai Ping rebellion. Tribes coming down towards the south, family by family, following the crests of the mountains, have

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continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later.

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow.

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing.

/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their

/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.

[163] [842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 131 [167] [648]

The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

39s Bernatzik--610 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
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/451 cont/

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The Burma Census of 1931 (8) gives the following figures:

8. Page 200.

1931, 830 Meau; 1921, 394 Meau; 1911, 646 Meau.

/452/ We have here a typical example of an apparent population increase! Actually, it is, of course, a matter, not of biological increase, but presumably of newcomers from the northern and eastern border areas, possibly even only faulty identification, with merely more Meau being included in the last census than in the previous ones.

There is no census for the Meau settled in Thailand. Credner (1), on the basis of his tables, comes to the conclusion

1. II, p. 137.

that their number can hardly exceed one to two thousand. Now I found many villages, all of them small, to be sure, in regions which he had not visited, from which I conclude that even for his time his statements must have been far surpassed. Nevertheless it is not possible for me either to give exact figures, since in the meantime the decree concerning the mountain peoples has been issued in Thailand (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand"), which practically makes it impossible for these people to live. This leads to emigration by the Meau, which, [167] however, will take place, of course, only in those areas where they can be seized by the government. Also to be considered is the fact that the Meau in Thailand principally inhabit areas in which they are actually uncontrollable and are difficult to get hold of statistically. Accordingly, there are no satisfactory demographic data concerning the Meau in Thailand.

In Indochina, as Von Eickstedt (2) states, most of the

2. II, p. 53.

39: Bernatzik--671 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand A01
Miao AE5

T /495 cont./

563 Even though mountain peoples without exception are
166 excellent warriors, they were still unable, with their primitive weaponry, to offer any lasting resistance to the numerically much stronger peoples of the valleys, for example, the Chinese or the Thai (see the chapter, "Military Affairs and War").

The extensively practiced cultivation in clearings without any fertilization is another reason for the migrations (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Agriculture"). Since, because of this, the arable land in the vicinity of the villages becomes exhausted after a few years, the people must take to traveling in order to settle on new, fertile land
T required for laying out fields.

563 That the fiscal policy of the colonial powers represents
167 another reason for the migrations is shown by the intrusion of
[651] the mountain peoples from Indochina into Thailand. Persons belonging to the mountain peoples repeatedly gave me as the reason for it the fact that in Indochina they had to pay 12 ticals as head tax, but in Thailand only three ticals besides a small fee for each rice field laid out.

T In addition, poor harvests caused by plant diseases or
563 insufficient cultivation in times of war play an important role.
167 For example, in northern Thailand, 60 kilometers from
M Tschiengmai, in the habitation area of the Lao, I met large
● 167 Meau groups who were desperately trying to sell their beautiful
731 mountain cattle at give-away prices to the Lao. These Meau had come from Burma, looked miserable, and reported that they had suffered a total crop failure as the result of a rice disease, and that they were now close to starvation and had to try by any means to find a more favorable region for habitation
T in the south.

563 /496/ Of special importance also is the religious atti-
166 tude of the mountain peoples, who are strongly influenced by the idea of good and evil spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). The signs that are regarded as bad omens are innumerable, and often the shaman, after he has questioned the spirits, demands that the residence site be moved. Such a

39: Bernatzik--689 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Burma AP1
Miao AE5

/511 cont./

B T 797 The attitude of the various peoples toward the missions is largely dependent on the economic conditions of the natives in each case. If it is a matter of uprooted segments of a people, such as the Wa who were driven out of their homeland, the mission finds conversion easy. On the other hand, in the case of a rich and healthy people for whom adequate possibilities for a livelihood are provided, as, for example, the Lisu, they succeed in penetrating only with the use of all kinds of expedients. These, too, however, are often in vain.

M 648

d) Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples

The migratory movement of the mountain peoples is of the greatest significance from a colonial-political standpoint for those peoples that rule the valleys and has induced them to take a stand toward the masses of people who have immigrated and continue to immigrate.

1) Conditions in China

In China since ancient times the mountain peoples have been fought (see the chapter, "History"). Raids, killings, and well-organized military expeditions were the order of the day. These battles usually ended with the subjugation of the vanquished, who subsequently were quickly assimilated, or with the forcible removal of the mountain peoples from the living space concerned. Often there were also vast resettlements of the vanquished. A large part, perhaps the main part of the mountain peoples, was as a consequence of these conditions absorbed into the great mass of Chinese people. Only a part succeeded in maintaining their independence by emigrating to territories difficult of access and also suitable for them climatically. More and more settled beyond the borders of the Chinese Empire.

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M [167]

31: Scherman--27 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma Miao AE5

Still another Yunnan tribe, the Miao (tse), 101 [167] which is also found frequently in Laos, has migrated to Kengtung--1911: 646 (20). The

20. About their relation to the Mon-Khmer, good material by H.R. Davies, Yun-nan (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 337 ff. About their housing construction: UBG I, 1, pp. 599 ff. Other ethnological material with good illustrations by S.R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in South-West China (London, 1911) and by A. Schotter, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Kouy-tcheou (Chine)," /Ethnographique Notes on the Kweichow Tribes (China)/ Anthropos Vol. 3 ff. who considers the Yao (cf. above, fn. 19) as a subdivision of the Miao Anthropos Vol. 4, pp. 318 ff.; cf. 3, p. 405.

people excel in their clothing, architecture, and household management through outstanding 342 cleanliness and neatness. Their houses in the British-Burmese area where, being immigrants, they certainly do not represent their complete, original type, are built much better and stronger than those of the neighboring people. Wherever they are not made of mud (this seems to be the older, original construction method) /214/ the houses are built with strong wood and shingled roofs and have mud or stone terraces. Sometimes they are built on piles. The pile house has certainly developed under the influence of the building style of the Burmese countries. The interior is much more carefully furnished than are the Burmese houses. In the large rooms, which [352] are divided by small walls into compartments, are bamboo bedsteads, couches, and low chairs, mats and furs. An attic is formed by a ceiling